Volume 81, Number 2 Summer 1981

THE KEYNOTER



1904: Roosevelt vs. Parker

President's Message

Three years ago, when I became APIC President, one of my first goals was to build upon the fine work of Chick Harris and Jon Curtis and the many others who had contributed to the *Keynoter,* and through a change in format and production quality, to make our quarterly historical publication nationally accepted in and out of the hobby as the journal "of record" for the study of political campaign artifacts. Although the aims and objectives that the Board of Directors and I sought were clearly outlined from the start, our goals were not being reflected in the first few issues in the magazine format. This necessitated several changes in personnel and the publisher in mid-1979. Since the Fall 1979 issue, however, under Dr. Fischer's skilled leadership, our publication has received increasing recognition. The quality of articles contributed and the expansion of our knowledge of what we collect has been an exciting process. Herb Collins' fine article exploding the "myth" of the Jackson frogs was but one example; another is the excellent article on "Teddy Roosevelt and Equality" in this issue. The content and illustrations for this article have never been correllated in any publication; in fact, four of the items pictured have never been seen before in any journal. This type of article would never have been accomplished without the complete cooperation of our membership. The eleven items pictured came from eight different sources in the hobby. The story itself represents arduous research by several scholars dating back to 1970. This is what the *Keynoter* is about—answering questions about the background of American political and historical artifacts, and placing new information on the record, as we are doing with Project 1980. Many political items refer to incidents or use phrases that are lost in the succeeding years, such as the "Shure Mike" Parker-Davis jugate pictured in this issue. This time around, items like the Robert Byther Brigade (80/354) will not only survive as items, but also their unique stories will be known to future collectors.

Robert A. Fratkin

Editor's Message

In addition to Bob Rouse, Preston Malcom, Joe Wasserman, Bob Fratkin, Joe and Vi Hayes, and the many other individuals who helped make this issue a reality, I would especially like to thank Jon Curtis for volunteering his time and talents to write the feature article. Along with Chick Harris and others, Jon labored for years to produce *Keynoter* that we all looked forward to receiving. We did not then have the resources to issue a journal as professional in appearance as we do today, but readers who look through the old *Keynoters* will discover consistently informative articles and illustrations of many extraordinary items never before seen by most of us. Jon and Chick made the name *Keynoter* a proud term for most APIC members, one reason why its change in title to the *Standard* during our ill-fated 1978-1979 experiment was generally unpopular. I enthusiastically endorsed the reinstatement of the title *Keynoter* when I agreed to serve as Editor, because that proud name has always symbolized the knowledge and dedication of such outstanding APIC members as Jon Curtis.

Roger Fischer
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APIC seeks to encourage and support the study and preservation of original materials issuing from and relating to political campaigns of the United States of America and to bring its members fuller appreciation and deeper understanding of the candidates and issues that form our political heritage.

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Covers: Front - Black and white paper poster; Back - Black and white paper poster.



IN THE NEXT ISSUE

The Fall *Keynoter* will feature Wm. Henry Harrison's Log Cabin campaign and its echoes in the 1888 campaign of Benjamin Harrison, showing many previously unpictured items. Regular features will include Part 7 of APIC's Project 1980, Multigate Posters, Postcards from 1928 to 1940, and the first installment of a new APIC project on license plates.



Teddy and the Judge



THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1904

By Jon Curtis

The election of 1904 pitted Theodore Roosevelt, one of the most dominating, charismatic figures ever to hold the presidency, against Alton B. Parker, one of the most able (and least remembered) figures in American politics. I have questioned several elderly people over the past twenty years and have yet to find one (other than teachers or collectors) who could name Roosevelt's 1904 Democratic opponent.

Four times during the nineteenth century a vice president had occupied the White House through the death of a chief executive. None of the four (John Tyler, Millard Fillmore, Andrew Johnson, and Chester Arthur) had been able to win his party's nomination to run for a term in his own right. That was one problem that Roosevelt faced when he assumed the presidency on September 14, 1901, in the wake of William McKinley's death at the hands of assassin Leon Czolgosz. Unlike Tyler, Fillmore, Johnson, and Arthur, however, Roosevelt was already a national political figure with a considerable popular following in his own right.

Through his mediagenic charge up San Juan Hill at the head of his Rough Riders, Roosevelt emerged as a national hero just as Tom Platt, New York Republican party boss, was looking for a gubernatorial candidate untainted by scandal and unencumbered with political debts to anyone else. Correctly assessing Roosevelt's popularity and grossly underestimating his independence, Platt made TR Governor of New York in 1899. Once installed in the Executive Mansion in Albany, the forty year old Roosevelt found that he liked the position and developed into an activist governor, much to Platt's dismay. At the same time Vice President Garret Hobart, only fifty-five years old, was dying in Paterson, New Jersey.

Neither McKinley nor Roosevelt conceived the Republican "dream ticket" of 1900. McKinley, already assured re-nomination for a second term, regarded Roosevelt's departure from his administration to join the Rough Riders one of the blessings of the Spanish American War. He was happy with Roosevelt up in Albany making life miserable for Platt and had no intention of bringing him back to Washington. Roosevelt wanted to win a second term as governor and then a cabinet appointment (preferably as Secretary of War) as a stepping-stone to the 1904 Republican nomination. McKinley was totally opposed to having the unpredictable Roosevelt in his cabinet.

The 1900 McKinley-Roosevelt ticket was mainly the handiwork of Tom Platt, who began dreaming of the chance to get Roosevelt out of New York as soon as he heard of Hobart's death. This would solve a number of problems for the beleaguered party boss. The maverick would be gone from Albany and in a dead-end position with no political power base. Most of Roosevelt's friends agreed with this appraisal of the vice presidency, with the exception of Massachusetts Senator Henry Cabot Lodge (who saw its presidential possibilities). Roosevelt shrugged off Lodge's suggestion until he realized that Platt could block his renomination, then began to issue vague statements that did not flatly refuse the second spot on the ticket. Now the major hurdle for Platt was Mark Hanna, Ohio senator and McKinley campaign manager, but Pennsylvania party boss Matt Quay (a Platt friend who hated Hanna for blocking his appointment to the Senate) threatened to lead a move to drastically reduce the voting strength of southern delegations (mainly federal appointees beholden to Hanna). "Dollar Mark" gave in, but not without exploding to friends: "Don't any of you realize that there is only one life between that madman and the presidency? Platt and Quay are idiots! What harm can he do as Governor of New York compared to the damage he will do as President if McKinley should die?



Felt Pen Wiper

In the six months that Roosevelt was vice president, he presided over the Senate for just five days and bedlam reigned. He spent most of his time with Lodge, engineering a power base for 1904. When McKinley was shot on September 6, 1901, it appeared that the wound was not mortal. A week later the President took a turn for the worse and died on September 14. Tom Platt—who had



remarked six months earlier that he was attending the inaugural ceremonies "to see Roosevelt take the veil"—now saw that veil lifted. Roosevelt, unable to conceal his enthusiasm for the challenge ahead, said that "although it was a dreadful way to come to the presidency, it would be a far worse thing to be morbid about it." A month shy of forty-three, he had become the youngest man to occupy the presidency.

Once in office he proved to be far different from the "damned cowboy" or "that madman" the party bosses feared him to be. Although he quickly became an extremely visible and charismatic leader, he did not use the job he referred to as a "bully pulpit" to immediately initiate radical policy changes. His "big stick" foreign policy initiatives, his 1902 anti-trust suit against the powerful Northern Securities Company, and his role in forcing the anthracite coal combines to negotiate an agreement with the United Mine Workers made him a popular hero without alienating the powerful conservative wing of the Republican party. As early as 1902 state committees began to declare for his renomination and Hanna was forced into an early endorsement. When the 1904 Republican convention met, Roosevelt broke the vice-presidential jinx by a unanimous 994-0 vote on the first ballot. Having learned its lesson in 1900, the "Old Guard" conservatives insisted on selecting his running mate and settled upon Indiana Senator Charles Warren Fairbanks to philosophically balance the ticket. Roosevelt was not fond of Fairbanks (he had preferred either Indiana Senator Albert Beveridge or Illinois Congressman Robert Hitt), but only forty-five and sufficiently powerful to dictate his successor, he made no objections.

With little chance to defeat the enormously popular Rough Rider, the Democrats spent most of their collective energy on intra-party warfare between the eastern ("goldbug") conservative wing and the southern and western radical agrarian forces led by William Jennings Bryan. Although the agrarians had controlled the party since 1896, when they renounced Grover Cleveland and gave the "silver-tongued boy orator of the Platte" his first of three Democratic nominations, Bryan had no desire to take on Roosevelt and the wing he led had no other major figure to put forth. Conservative Democrats saw their chance to regain control of the party, aided by a belief that the "trust-busting" activities of Roosevelt might bring substantial business support to a Democratic nominee with a properly conservative outlook. New York party boss David Hill advanced the candidacy of Judge Alton B. Parker, the fifty-two year old Chief Justice of the New York Court of Appeals, a fiscal conservative known for integrity. His only real opposition came from fellow New Yorker William Randolph Hearst, who used his powerful newspaper empire to promote his candidacy. Hearst enjoyed some support in the West but little in the East and South. Bryan spoke in support of silverite Missouri Senator Francis Cockrell. Parker won nomination on the first ballot.

Just as Bryan's selection had done in 1896 and again in 1900, the Parker nomination insured that the Democrats would enter a presidential campaign hopelessly divided. A candid man with few political ambitions (other than a seat on the Supreme Court), he had telegraphed the convention that he considered "free silver" a dead issue and would withdraw if the platform did not reflect this viewpoint. The convention acquiesced, but Bryan was embittered by what he correctly regarded as a repudiation of his beliefs. He openly criticized the Parker nomination, asking rhetorically if the nation was "forced to choose between a god of war and a god of gold?"





The Parker men had given little consideration to the second spot. Once the nomination was secured, the Parker forces considered Illinoisan John C. Black and J.R. Williams, George Turner of Washington, J.W. Kern of Indiana, and Judson Harmon of Ohio. One by one they were all rejected as too Populist, too conservative, or too unpopular. In desperation the convention finally turned to Henry Gassaway Davis, West Virginia's first Democratic senator. In 1904 Davis was eighty-one years old, nearly thirty years older than Judge Parker, a man who had begun his political career as a Henry Clay Whig! His main asset was that his extensive lumber, mining, and railroad interests had made him the wealthiest man in West Virginia. It was hoped that the honor of the nomination would lead to major contributions to the party war-chest. Like most men of wealth, however, Davis knew how to make money and how to keep it!

A large number of splinter parties fielded tickets in 1904. Most important was the Socialist slate of Eugene V. Debs and New Yorker Benjamin Hanford. Since 1900 the Socialists had added more than twenty thousand dues-paying members and had established several new language federations within the party to woo immigrant support. They were especially successful among midwestern Germans. In Milwaukee their strength among brewery workers led to a long succession of Socialist mayors. The Prohibitionists nominated prominent evangelist Silas Comfort Swallow for president and wealthy Texas businessman George W. Carroll for vice president. The remnants of the People's party selected Thomas E. Watson of Georgia (Bryan's running mate on the Populist ticket in 1896) and the aged Thomas Henry Tibbles of Nebraska, hoping that the Democratic shift to gold might bring about a rebirth of their movement. Watson, an outspoken liberal in years past, was in the midst of a change of heart so fundamental that he soon emerged as perhaps the most blatant anti-Negro, anti-Catholic, and anti-Semitic bigot in the South and the darling of the Ku Klux Klan. The twelve-year old Socialist Labor party selected Charles Hunter Corregan of New York and William Wesley Cox of Illinois, mainly to



Note misspelling on upper right button

advance the beliefs of party leader Daniel De Leon. Two short-lived parties appeared on the scene in 1904, the Continental party putting forth a ticket of Austin Holcomb of Georgia and A. King of Missouri and a Negro splinter group that named itself the National Liberal party and nominated George Taylor and W. C. Payne.

The 1904 campaign can only be described as dull. The irrepressible Roosevelt loved the excitement of campaigning and did much of it, invariably greeted by an adoring public. Fairbanks also spent much time on the campaign trail. Parker refused to follow suit and spent the autumn in seclusion at his Ulster County, New York, home, stating that if the people wanted him to be their president they would show that on election day. Davis also did little campaigning. Republicans made much of Davis' age, pointing out repeatedly that he had been born during the presidency of James Monroe! The public viewed Parker as a colorless carbon-copy of Roosevelt. The only really important area of difference between the two involved the tariff, hardly an issue to stir the blood. Perhaps the most active of all Democrats was the soured Bryan, undermining the party ticket to insure that the conservatives suffered a defeat much greater than his losses of 1896 and 1900, an attempt not only to vindicate himself but to guarantee that his faction would seize control again for 1908.

The Nebraskan certainly got his wish. On election day Roosevelt captured thirty-two states, 7,623,486 popular votes, and 56.4% of all votes cast. He swept every state outside the South, compiling the greatest number of electoral votes (332) ever won up to that time. Parker took thirteen southern states and their 140 electoral votes with a campaign unusually prone to the worst sort of racebaiting (a result of Roosevelt's celebrated White House dinner with black educator Booker T. Washington), but his 5,077,971 popular vote (only 37.6% of the total) was a million and a half fewer than Bryan had won in 1900. The Debs-Hanford ticket garnered 402,283 votes, more than four times the 1900 Socialist vote. The 1904 Prohibitionist vote was 258,596 (20% better than 1900), most of it coming from the lower Midwest. The Populist monopoly on "free silver" sentiment brought them only 117,183 votes, 40% of that in the ticket's home states of Georgia and Nebraska. The Socialist Labor vote was 31,249, less than the party's 1900 showing. The Holcomb-King effort won 830 votes in Illinois, the only state where it made the ballot, and no popular vote whatever was recorded for the Taylor-Payne National Liberal ticket.

Elected to a full term in his own right, Roosevelt went on to develop into one of the outstanding presidents in our history, a progressive activist whose "trust-busting" and 1906 Hepburn Act helped harness the energies of the Industrial Revolution for the public welfare, whose pioneering efforts in conservation and consumer affairs helped enhance the quality of American life, and whose use of the Oval Office as a "bully pulpit" set a standard for the strong presidency that would develop in this century. The defeated Alton B. Parker retreated again into obscurity and never again sought elective office. He remains the only major-party presidential nominee in American history who has not become the subject of a biography. An honest and able man with one of the finest judicial minds of his era, he was a much more appealing figure than his campaign demonstrated and much more liberal than Democratic conservatives let on. He never realized his one great ambition, a seat on the United States Supreme Court.

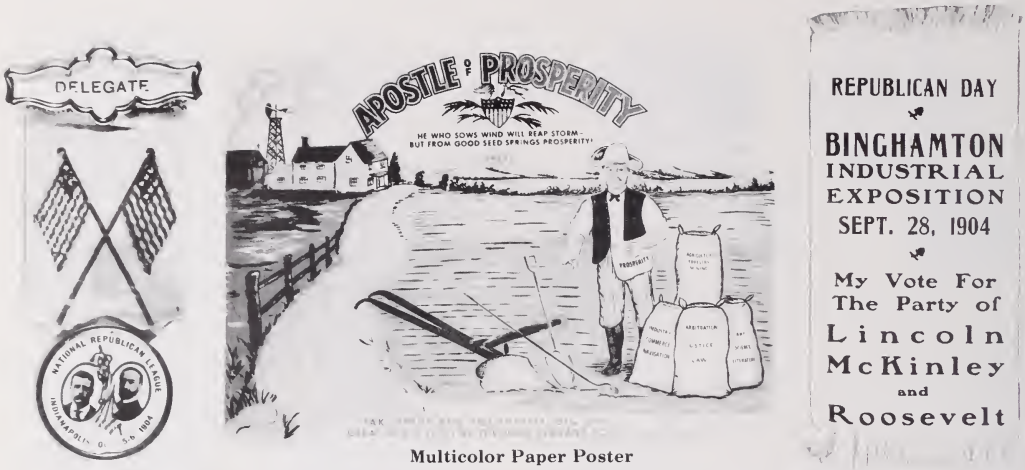
Fortunately for collectors, the uneventful 1904 election produced a large and desirable variety of campaign items. The celluloid button was still a relatively new art form in 1904 and the several hundred political varieties inspired by the 1904 campaign often exhibited magnificent



Many 1904 items were issued by political clubs. The Hamilton Club of Chicago was chartered on Appomattox Day (April 7), 1890, to "promote good government and to advance Republicanism in local, state and national campaigns." The club was named for Alexander Hamilton, "who was probably the most brilliant statesman of his age and . . . the most eminent man America produced—save Washington." Open to men with homes or businesses in the Chicago area, by 1900 it had more than eight hundred members and a long waiting list. According to newspaper accounts the Club had a list of 250 speakers for the 1900 McKinley-Roosevelt effort, hosted receptions for first voters in the clubhouse, and every day during the campaign sponsored six noontime rallies, three in the central business district and three in outlying manufacturing districts for blue-collar workers. There were more than 1600 members in 1911 when President Taft came to Chicago to lay the cornerstone for their new sixteen-story clubhouse. Membership eventually grew to 3800 in the 1920's, but the depression and the rise to power of the Democrats caused the Hamilton Club to die. In 1938 the facilities were auctioned to satisfy debts. ★



All Buttons Shown 60% of Actual Size



Multicolor Paper Poster

coloration and striking designs. In terms of pure aesthetics, only the art-nouveau celluloids of 1908 surpassed the 1904 Roosevelts and Parkers. Many excellent posters, textiles, glass and ceramic objects, watch fobs, and paper items also promoted the major-party tickets and some outstanding third-party buttons were also produced. The overwhelming majority of 1904 Democratic items merely pictured Parker or Parker and Davis, a result of no important issues and few opportunities to develop personality politics around the reclusive Parker and the doddering Davis. Some notable exceptions are the imaginative anti-Roosevelt "UNCLE SAM'S WHITE ELEPHANT" football button, the superb "JUDGE! WE'RE IT" scales celluloid (Hake PAR-3006), a fanciful button portraying Parker as a farmer (PAR-3055) "HOEING HIS WAY TO THE WHITE HOUSE," and the various anti-Roosevelt racist buttons inspired by the TR-Washington dinner.

In terms of imagination, 1904 Roosevelt buttons were on the whole far superior to Parker celluloids, mainly because his campaign was better funded and more popular and because Roosevelt's background and personality provided more opportunities. Many outstanding items featured him in Rough Rider regalia, often mounted on his trusty charger. Business support for Roosevelt led to some outstanding advertising politicals promoting TR and such products as Zig-Zag Candy, Marvel Flour, and the like. His last name created opportunities for some handsome rebus buttons featuring roses. His eyeglasses and toothy grin inspired some splendid caricature items. His standing as a Spanish-American War celebrity led to several desirable items, ranging from pro-TR buttons showing him being embraced by Uncle Sam to a hideous anti-Roosevelt button (ROO-3227) with a hideous caricature and the legend "I'M BRAVE! I BELIEVE IN SHOOTING! I SHOT A SPANIARD IN THE BACK!" Other distinctive 1904



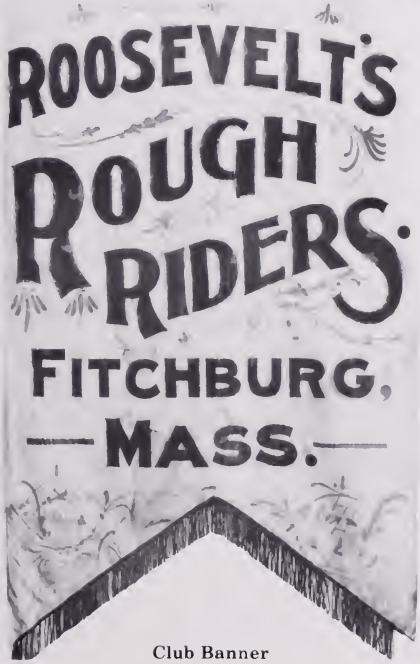
Roosevelt items featured playing cards and the motto "STAND PAT." On the whole, few campaigns have rivaled the 1904 Roosevelt effort for the superb personality items it inspired.

1904 was also a reasonably good year for minor party items. Socialist items include at least two varieties of Debs-Hanford jugates and a Debs single picture button. The Prohibitionist effort inspired a Swallow-Carroll jugate and advertising button promoting Swallow and Maple Soap (mates for TR and Parker also exist). The Populist campaign led to a small Watson-Tibbles jugate, a larger single picture button, and perhaps one or two smaller picture pins, although it is unclear whether these were made in 1904 or during the 1908 Watson campaign. The Socialist Labor party apparently issued only one button in 1904, an extraordinarily rare 1¼" Corregan-Cox jugate, and no known Continental party or National Liberal party buttons exist.

Author's Note: This is my twenty-second feature for the *Keynoter*, including a six year stint (1972-178) as Associate Editor. Because of that background, I would like to take the opportunity to offer a big "Thank You" from all APIC members to Roger Fischer, Herb Collins, Ed Sullivan, and the entire staff of the *Keynoter* for a magnificent job well done. If you all could see the June 1, 1962, issue of *APIC News* and the first *Keynoter* issued September 1, 1962, and compare it to the *Keynoter* of today, you would see what a great contribution these people have made to our organization.



Sheet Music



Club Banner



Metal Tray

Teddy and "Equality"

By Roger Fischer

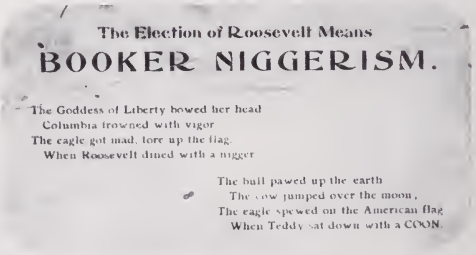
Probably the most fascinating and least understood of all 1904 political items are those linking Theodore Roosevelt to the theme of racial equality. Although these objects relate to some protracted and complex developments, both within the Republican party and in white southern attitudes toward the race question, the focal point of both of these — and the event that triggered the items — was the White House meal that the new president shared with black educator and spokesman Booker T. Washington in the autumn of 1901.

Born into slavery in Virginia in 1856, Washington had attended grammar school between shifts in a West Virginia coal mine, then worked his way through Hampton Institute as a janitor, worked briefly as a schoolteacher, then returned to Hampton to head a program for Indian students. In 1881 he was selected to come to Tuskegee, Alabama, to turn a charter, an abandoned chapel, and an old shed into a college for young black men and women. Beginning with agriculture ("because we had to eat," he candidly allowed in *Up From Slavery*), he developed an essentially vocational program at Tuskegee that enabled the students to learn such "useful arts" as carpentry, brickmaking, and home economics while they practiced their skills by building their campus into a handsome red brick showcase. By 1895 Tuskegee had a student body of eight hundred, a faculty of fifty-five, assets of more than $200,000 and no debts. This success made Washington something of a hero to his fellow blacks (during an era of virulent racism that allowed them little else to cheer about), while his vocational emphasis, fervent devotion to the white Puritan ideals of his mentor Samuel Chapman Armstrong (cleanliness, discipline, purity, punctuality), and his rather "Uncle Tomish" public statements on race earned him the admiration of many whites.

One such white was Theodore Roosevelt, who had become acquainted with Washington during the 1890's and who intended to visit him in Tuskegee during a trip through the South in 1901 that was canceled when President McKinley was shot. That the ambitious Roosevelt was planning his 1904 renomination before McKinley's body was cold cannot be doubted, for on the day he took office he wrote Washington, "I must see you as soon as possible." Although Roosevelt was somewhat liberal on race, and shared a commitment to appointing qualified Negroes to federal positions, Roosevelt's motives on this occasion were somewhat less altruistic. At a time when Negroes exerted almost no influence on national elections, Republican conventions were influenced greatly by artifically large southern delegations. When McKinley took over the party, Mark Hanna moved quickly to replace Harrison "black and tan" Republicans with "lily-whites" loyal to him. Since Roosevelt regarded Hanna as his chief obstacke to the 1904 nomination, he felt it imperative to replace Hanna's "lily-whites" with his own "black and tan" Republicans and some Gold Democrats, men who would naturally express their appreciation in the proper manner in 1904. To act as his advisor in this process, he trusted only Washington.

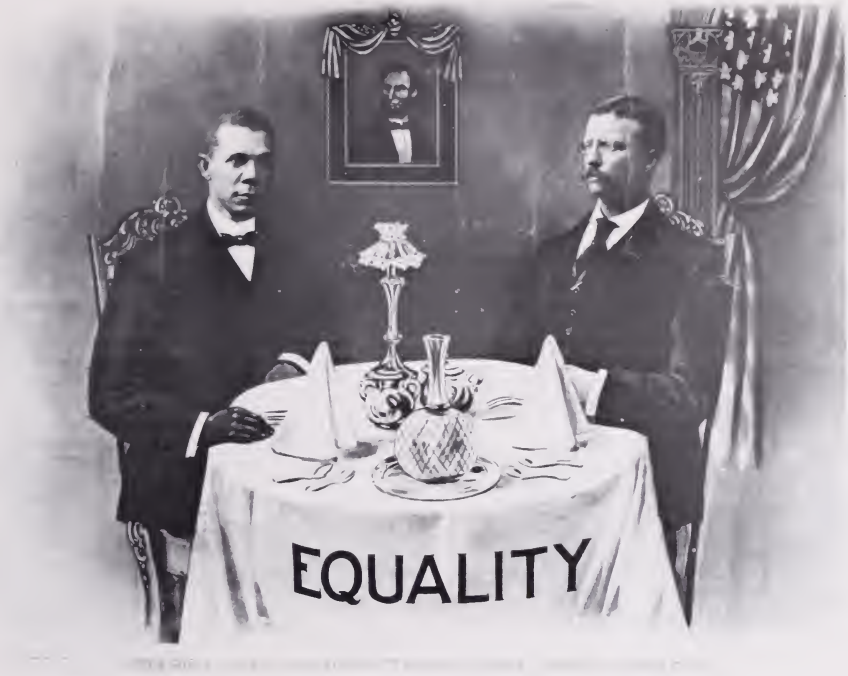
In October, 1901, Washington traveled to the capital twice to confer with Roosevelt. After their second meeting he returned to his lodgings to find an invitation to return to the White House to dine at eight with the President, family members, and a Colorado Republican. After dinner the two men talked at length about patronage and racial problems in the South. It is clear that neither man regarded the occasion as a symbolic gesture of interracial experimentation and that neither anticipated the uproar that developed. As historian George E. Mowry has written, TR's invitation was motivated by "southern patronage, not southern sociology." Washington was always extremely cautious to avoid situations that might anger the white South, invariably avoiding "purely social" contact with whites. He had dined with McKinley at the Chicago Peace Jubilee in 1898 and had eaten with former President Harrison in Paris and had even had tea with Queen Victoria without incident. Perhaps the mistake both men made was underestimating the symbolic importance of the White House in southern minds.

For two days the only notice taken of the dinner was a brief report in the New York *Times*, but when a southern correspondent read the item the incident became an overnight sensation throughout the South. Many editors were unrestrained in their denunciation. The Macon, Georgia, *Telegraph* proclaimed, "God set up the barrier



Campaign Handcard

between the races. No President of this or any country can break it down." The Memphis *Scimitar* raged, "The mere fact that this nigger Washington accepted the invitation of the President to sit down to dine with him is conclusive proof of the utter impossibility of ever doing anything with the nigger." The more sedate Memphis *Commercial Appeal* placed most of the blame on Roosevelt, declaring that he would no longer be welcome in southern homes and that no self-respecting southern woman would accept an invitation to the White House until it underwent a change in occupants. A leading southern clergyman fumed, "If Roosevelt or any other kind of 'velt' wishes to live with niggers, I can't help it. But he's got no business as President to be guilty of any such criminal folly. It's an outrage." A new popular song swept the region that had the refrain:



Original Lithographic Print Issued by Charles H. Thomas in 1903 and Used on the First "Equality" Buttons

"Coon, coon, coon,
Morning, night, and noon,
I think I'd class Mr. Roosevelt
With a coon, coon, coon."

The furor soon died down, of course, but the incident was dredged up by anti-Roosevelt forces in 1904 and again in 1912 to damage the Rough Rider's political fortunes in the South.

The White House dinner inspired several campaign items, among them some of the most vicious political objects ever used to influence votes in the United States. A prime example is the rare (perhaps unique) 1¼" "TWO SOULS WITH BUT A SINGLE THOUGHT" TR-Washington caricature celluloid. The poetry of prejudice has seldom been surpassed by the "The Election of Roosevelt Means BOOKER NIGGERISM" card. The rare 1¼" "IT'S UP TO YOU/TAKE YOUR CHOICE" celluloid exploited the bigot's traditional "bottom line," the miscegenation bugaboo, by portraying a white bridal couple beneath Parker and a black groom and white bride beneath Roosevelt. That the incident was revived in the southern states again in 1912 is apparent from the crude cartoons in the "Farmers of Georgia A Word to Labor" pamphlet distributed in Georgia that year, when white southerners who could not bear to vote for a Republican had a chance to vote for TR as a "Progressive."

The better known "EQUALITY" buttons portraying TR dining with a black man (clearly identifiable as Washington on the style with "EQUALITY" beneath the men) was evidently used as both a pro-Roosevelt and anti-Roosevelt piece in 1904. Items in the Chicago *Examiner*



1 2 3

4 5 6

Notes: #1, The Thomas design, comes in 1¼" and 1½" sizes in sepiatone and greytone; #2 is sepiatone, #3 comes in multicolor and sepiatone, #4 is black on silver, #5 is sepiatone, and #6 is multicolor. All buttons shown 60% of actual size.

and Cincinnati *Enquirer* in September, 1903, attributed the origin of the buttons to a white Chicagoan motivated by racial idealism and a desire to enhance black allegiance to Republicanism. According to the *Enquirer,*

> "Charles H. Thomas, a white Republican of Chicago, has evolved a campaign button for which his party will not stand sponsorship. It represents Pres. Roosevelt at dinner with Booker T. Washington. Across the picture is the word 'Equality.' The zealous Mr. Thomas wished to impress upon the colored brothers the idea that the only way to the higher life was to vote the Republican ticket. His brilliant idea is depicted in the campaign button. Thousands of the buttons are being worn by colored men in Chicago, and the demand throughout the country is growing."

The Thomas buttons, inspired by a paper print often found in black homes during this period, seem to have rapidly evolved into anti-Roosevelt items used by Democrats to discredit the President among white supremacist voters in the North and South alike. A story in the Chicago *Post* in January, 1904, claimed that the Republicans had been able to disown the button without alienating black supporters by coming up with an "Equality" button of their own. According to the *Post*:

> "The 'Equality' campaign button manufactured by the Geraghty Manufacturing Company to offset the one designed by Democrats to injure President Roosevelt is out, and has attracted much attention among Republicans. Several months ago a button appeared showing the President and a negro dining together. It was labeled 'Equality,' and was calculated to make Roosevelt unpopular among people to whom the race question is a live issue Senator Gorman, a Democratic aspirant for the presidency, is said to have had a hand in circulating the button, believing that it would harm the President seriously in the southern states. The other 'Equality' button is based on the same idea, but differently applied. It shows President Roosevelt leading a colored regiment up the hill at San Juan. The design turns the tables on the author of the original 'Equality' device most effectively."

To my knowledge, no examples of this enormously desirable and historically significant Geraghty San Juan "Equality" celluloid are known to exist.

Whatever the truth as to authorship, the TR-Washington dinner table "Equality" buttons seemed to have been distributed almost exclusively by Democrats in 1904 as anti-Roosevelt items, mainly in the South. Roosevelt himself felt that this was the case, for in December, 1904, in a letter to Silas McBee, he disputed the story of Tennessee Republican Luke Lea that "campaign buttons picturing the alleged Booker T. Washington at dinner and bearing the inscription below it 'Equality' were distributed by the Republican campaign committee in Middle Tennessee, and were greatly prized on that account by the negroes." According to TR,

> "These campaign buttons were distributed by the Democratic committees not merely in Tennessee but in Maryland, in southern Indiana, in West Virginia,



It is public history that Colonel Roosevelt in his first administration invited to his home and TABLE a negro school teacher, BOOKER T. WASHINGTON.

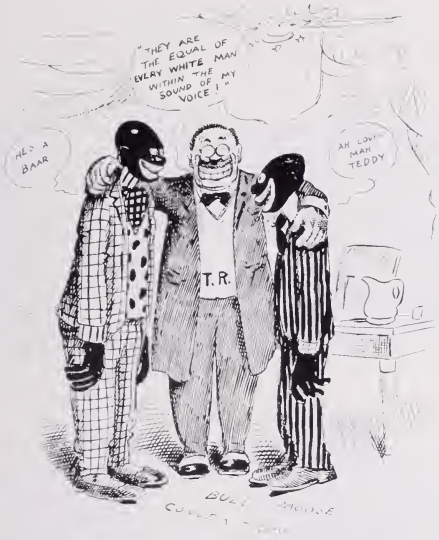
Do you believe that Colonel Roosevelt can be relied upon to establish a white Progressive Party in the South? His actions in hobnobing with negro politicians as his equals speak louder than his present protestations.

1912 Georgia Pamphlet

> in Kentucky, and elsewhere where it was believed that they could do damage to the Republican cause, and especially to me. The Tennessee Republican leaders were hurt materially by the use of this button, and it was one of the most disreputable campaign tricks which they had to meet and try to overcome."

One 1904 Roosevelt button relating to this subject is not ambiguous at all, the beautiful 1½" multicolor celluloid portraying TR as "PRESIDENT OF ALL THE PEOPLE" (a favorite expression of pro-black sympathies from southern politicians afraid to say so directly, often used by LBJ) watching Uncle Sam take down fencerail barriers inscribed "PREJUDICE," "LAWLESSNESS," and "INJUSTICE." Unlike two TR buttons worded "EQUAL PROTECTION" and "JUSTICE TO ALL" aimed at the labor vote (clearly indicated by the figures of capital and labor shaking hands), the rhetoric of the TR-Uncle Sam button makes it abundantly clear that the subject at issue was racial discrimination. The 1¼" TR celluloid portraying him in Rough Rider garb with the motto "HIS POLICY/EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL" may be related to civil rights or labor or may just represent a general sentiment, as could "GIVE EVERY MAN A SQUARE DEAL" on the leather change purse.

Unusually rich in historical significance, the items inspired by the TR-Washington White House dinner are unfortunately very scarce (and the buttons very expensive). All known varieties of the "EQUALITY" buttons appear for sale very infrequently and usually



NEWS ITEMS IN THE PRESS inform us that in the present presidential campaign Col. Roosevelt at a public meeting in one of our great cities stood upon the stage and placing his arms around two negro politicians stated that they were the equals of any white men in the audience in character and intelligence.

"GEORGIANS" will you vote for a man of this type?

1912 Georgia Pamphlet

command four-figure values in choice condition. The availability of all five known varieties in the recent Warner auction was surely a once-in-a-lifetime phenomenon. The racist "IT'S UP TO YOU/TAKE YOUR CHOICE" wedding button and the multicolor Uncle Sam/"PRESIDENT OF ALL THE PEOPLE" button are even more uncommon than the "EQUALITY" pieces and the satiric "TWO SOULS WITH BUT A SINGLE THOUGHT" may well be unique. The "BOOKER NIGGERISM" card and the two racist Georgia cartoon pamphlets pictured here are the only specimens of each known to exist. The Geraghty San Juan "Equality" button may not exist any more at all. Most collectors will never enjoy the opportunity of owning these graphic mementos of that evening in 1901 when the question "Guess who's coming to dinner?" was fraught with such political significance. ★



Leather Change Purse



Paperboard Fan and Welcome Buttons 1909-10



Paper Covering for Wooden Cane

APIC Postcard Project:
TEDDY ROOSEVELT















T.R. Arbitrating the Russo-Japanese War-1905





Leather Postcard







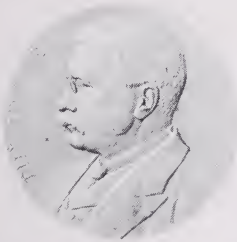
For Additional Roosevelt (and Parker) Postcards, See The Fall 1980 Keynoter

THE INAUGURAL MEDALS OF 1904

By H. Joseph Levine

Theodore Roosevelt was the only president for whom a single inauguration was commemorated with two distinctly different official inaugural medals. The first medal authorized by the 1905 Inaugural Committee on Medals and Badges was produced by the Philadelphia firm of Joseph K. Davison's Sons. This medal was basically a copy of the 1901 U.S. Mint medal of Roosevelt for its Presidential series with the inaugural date changed and the size reduced to 44mm. 3,000 of these medals were struck and presented to all members of the various subcommittees.

The Davison Medal



Obverse



Reverse

Roosevelt, who had a pronounced sense of what he liked artistically, was displeased with the Davison medal. Urged on by one of his art advisors, the painter Frank Millet, TR approached the renowned sculptor, Augustus Saint-Gaudens, and asked him to make his inaugural medal. Saint-Gaudens, who was already overburdened with work, found it impossible to fully accede to the president's request. However, he did agree to be responsible for the design of the medal. Almost immediately, he contacted his former protege, Adolph A. Weinman, who agreed to execute the models. Saint-Gaudens then set to work to perfect his designs. Throughout this process, he was constantly in touch with Roosevelt. At one point, he wrote to inquire if the president would like the medal to include his campaign slogan "A Square Deal for Every Man". TR felt that this was "too colloquial". The Latin equivalent "Aequum cuique" did, however, meet with the president's approval. It was incorporated into the obverse design. With Saint-Gaudens riding close herd over every process of developing the medal, the final step was taken when Tiffany & Co. was entrusted with the job of casting the finished product. Three gold medals and 125 bronze replicas were finally produced.

The Saint-Gaudens/Tiffany product was an artistic success and was well received by the President. Today the medal is without doubt the most popular and widely known of all the official inaugural medals. ★

The Tiffany/Saint-Gaudens Medal



Obverse



Reverse

Riding the Roosevelt Coattails

By Robert Rouse

1904 was a Republican year. Theodore Roosevelt enjoyed larger popular and electoral margins than any previous presidential candidate. Moreover, the Republicans were celebrating their fiftieth anniversary as a formal political party. Although their first candidate, John C. Fremont, lost in 1856, Grover Cleveland was the only Democrat to attain the presidency in the eleven elections between 1860 and 1900. Celebration of this proud tradition is apparent on several 1904 items that picture Fremont, Lincoln, TR and Fairbanks. The reason for Republican optimism during the campaign may be deduced from a small item in the September 7, 1904 New York *Times:* "J. J. Judge, a curb broker, made a wager on the presidential campaign yesterday of $1000 to $600 with E.F. Hutton and Co. No other wagers were reported although there were considerable amounts of Roosevelt money offered at the same figures. No change was made in the odds established several days ago of 10 to 6 and 6.5 to 10."



1


2


3

Democratic candidates for Congress and governorships were well aware of the party's bleak national outlook and most of them avoided identification with the Parker-Davis ticket. I am aware of only two varieties of Parker coattail buttons. In New Jersey Republican Edward Stokes defeated Democrat Charles Black for governor by 50,000 votes (1). The attractive Hudson County trigate featuring Black, Parker, and Davis was made in 2" and 1¼" varieties. In North Carolina Democrat Robert B. Glenn, featured on a 1¼" coattail jugate with Parker (2), won the governorship by nearly 50,000 votes over Republican C.J. Harris. Glenn had been an active spokesman for white supremacy during the Democratic party's resurgence in 1898, and in 1900 he became Governor Charles Aycock's chief assistant in charge of constitutional amendments depriving Negroes of voting rights.

Republican candidates were more eager to be associated with their enormously popular standard bearer, as the spate of TR jugates and trigates attest. In Washington Albert E. Mead easily defeated Democrat George Turner and a Socialist candidate to become governor (3). In Kansas Edward Hoch won the first of his two terms as governor by 70,000 votes with the slogan "CLEAN POLITICS" (4). In Minnesota Robert C. Dunn, who appears with TR on jugate buttons in 1¼" and 7/8" varieties, lost a close race for governor to John Albert Johnson (5). Johnson was elected to two more terms and became a favorite son candidate for the 1908 Democratic presidential nomination before his premature death in 1909.

Jugates from Wisconsin picture two winners. Governor Robert LaFollette was elected to a third term in 1904 (6).



4


5


6



7



8

Three months later the legislature elected him to the Senate, where he served until his death in 1925. In the third district of central Wisconsin, incumbent Joseph Babcock won his seventh term by fewer than four hundred votes (unpictured). The 1904 campaign produced three rare Illinois coattail buttons. Congressman Robert Hitt of Mount Morris won re-election to his twelfth term in the House (7). Many sources indicate that Hitt was TR's first choice for vice president but T.R. bowed to the wishes of party leaders and agreed to Charles Fairbanks, remembering his own frustrations in the job. Also shown is a jugate with Charles Deneen, Illinois governor from 1905 to 1913 and United States senator from 1925 until 1931 (8).

The third item from the "Land of Lincoln" is an unusual quintigate (9). The four men pictured with TR were not by candidates in 1904 for the political offices indicated on the button. (Deneen is not shown, both US Senators were in the "middle" of their terms in 1904, and Chicago municipal elections were held in April, 1905.

Michigan produced two similar trigates featuring Fred M. Warner, governor from 1905 to 1911; one identifies him name (10). Perhaps the earliest coattail item featuring TR was from the 1902 campaign of four-term Congressman John B. Corliss of Detroit, who ran unsuccessfully for re-election (11). Pennsylvania produced several different Republican coattails. Henry B. Cassell of Marietta used the now classic "STAND PAT" design to promote his third successful bid for a House seat (12). Edwin Stuart invoked the image of TR on at least three buttons issued during his successful bid for the governorship in 1906 (13,14). Finally, there is the attractive jugate from Wilkes-Barre dated 1905 (15). Does this picture three-term Republican


9


10



11


12

All Buttons Shown 60% Actual Size


13


14



15


16



17



18

Congressman Henry M. Palmer of Wilkes-Barre, who was one of the seven managers appointed by Speaker Joseph Cannon in 1905 to conduct impeachment proceedings against Florida Judge Charles Swayne?

New York campaigns produced two interesting coattail items. The TR-Woodruff jugate is from the 1898 race for governor where the "Rough Rider" picture was used on several items to remind voters of Roosevelt's recent heroics (16). Perhaps this imagery was sufficient to provide the narrow 1.3% margin of victory for TR. Timothy L. Woodruff is the only New Yorker to serve as lieutenant governor in three successive administrations, those of Black, TR, and Odell. When TR temporarily balked at Senator Tom Platt's efforts to "kick him upstairs" at the 1900 Republican national convention, the New York delegation endorsed the popular Woodruff for vice president! The James E. March trigate represents a Horatio Alger story (17). March was born Antonio Maggio in Italy in 1860. His family came to the United States in 1872 ahead of the great tide of Italian immigrants. Maggio worked as an usher for the Erie Railroad, and as his English improved his acumen became apparent. He became a labor contractor for the railroad, enabling him to place thousands of his countrymen in jobs when they arrived. In the process he became a millionaire! These credentials made him attractive to local politicians. He served his political apprenticeship in the Tammany organization, but later switched to the Republican party and was appointed Warden of the Port of New York by Roosevelt. Through the early years of this century March was leader of the second assembly district on the East Side of New York.

More than four million Irish had immigrated to the United States by 1904, including many from County Sligo on the western shore of Ireland. The largest concentrations of Irish were in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and San Francisco. Can anyone identify the face on the Sligo jugate (18)? Was the man a candidate or only a president of an ethnic political action club? Furthermore, can anyone provide definitive information on the Commercial Travelers' Club (which issued items for TR and Taft) or the Fremont Club?

Thanks to the many alert locals collectors who have identified items pictured in earlier columns. ★

Items of Interest

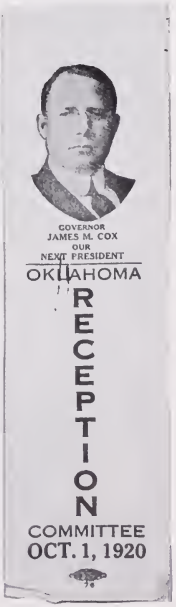
By John Vargo

In addition to its thousands of FDR items, the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Library in Hyde Park, New York, has a nice selection of items from other candidates, many of which were evidently obtained by Roosevelt himself. One of the best of these is the Woodrow Wilson button pictured here.

Although we do not know for sure its year of issue, it most likely is a 1912 item. FDR, then a state senator running for re-election, was very active on Wilson's behalf in New York. He gained re-election to the Senate, but his efforts in the Wilson campaign were rewarded by his appointment as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, a post which his uncle Teddy had also held. Going to Washington with Wilson proved to be a good career move for FDR, as it gave him the national exposure that led to his selection as James Cox's running mate in 1920.

Pictured also is a previously unknown picture ribbon used during the "Cox Special" train trip through Oklahoma and neighboring states in the fall of 1920. ★





Roosevelt in Repose

The James Earle Fraser Capitol Bust

By Cornelius W. Heine

Ed. note: After a lengthy career in the National Park Service, Mr. Heine is now serving as Executive Secretary of the U.S. Capitol Historical Society. This article appeared originally in the Winter, 1981, issue of the *Theodore Roosevelt Association Journal* and is reprinted here with the permission of the Theodore Roosevelt Association. This organization, founded shortly after Roosevelt's death in 1919 "to perpetuate the memory of Theodore Roosevelt for the benefit of the people of the United States of America and the world," has met this commitment in many ways. It helped bring to the public domain the Roosevelt birthplace in New York, Theodore Roosevelt Island in Washington, and TR's "Sagamore Hill" estate on Long Island. It developed and donated to Harvard the outstanding Theodore Roosevelt Collection of books, pamphlets, photographs, and other items. It has published many scholarly volumes on Roosevelt and issues an excellent quarterly *Journal*. TRA memberships vary in cost from the $5 "subscribing" membership to the $100 "sustaining" membership. For information on this worthy organization, write to Executive Director John Allen Gable, Theodore Roosevelt Association, Box 720, Oyster Bay NY 11771. ★

Nearing the end of a tour of the Capitol, a group of honor students stands before the marble bust of Theodore Roosevelt near the Senate Chamber, as the tour guide recounts the great achievements of Teddy Roosevelt in protecting the natural resources and setting aside the vast public lands to form significant parts of the national forests and the national park system. Such tours are a special service of the U.S. Capitol Historical Society.

The bust of Theodore Roosevelt is one of 37 marble busts of Vice Presidents in the United States Capitol Building ranging from the first Vice President, John Adams, through Lyndon B. Johnson. The Roosevelt bust has a particularly interesting history. It was the work of James Earle Fraser, who modeled two busts—one depicting strenuous facial action, and one presenting Theodore Roosevelt in a countenance of repose. It was the latter which was selected by the Joint Committee on the Library and preferred by Roosevelt himself, who said he wished to go down in posterity as a man of repose.

Interest in having a Vice Presidential bust of Roosevelt in the Capitol came from the Senate Committee on the Library, chaired by Senator George Peabody Wetmore, and Teddy agreed to this while still President of the United States. The President was interested in having the



Jessica Holden, courtesy Republican Conference of the U.S. Senate

Clifford K. Berryman's cartoon makes use of the "Teddy Bear," which Berryman originated or invented in 1902. The caption for this cartoon read, "News Note. The Senate Committee on Library Is Embarrassed by the Necessity of Choosing Between Rival Busts of Theodore Roosevelt as Vice President, for the Senate Chamber." The original of this 1909 cartoon is in the collection of the Architect of the Capitol.



Jessica Holden, courtesy Republican Conference of the U.S. Senate

Cartoon drawn in 1910 by Clifford K. Berryman. The original is in the collection of the Architect of the Capitol.

renowned sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens do the work. Saint-Gaudens was approached by the Senate Committee in 1902. The Congress, as a matter of policy had established the cost of $800 to be paid for Vice Presidential busts, with Vice President Arthur's bust being completed for that cost in 1902. At that time, Saint-Gaudens' usual commission for a bust was seven thousand dollars. This fact, along with a heavy schedule of work, caused Saint-Gaudens to decline, even though he had the highest expressed admiration and fondness for President Roosevelt. He was asked to recommend other competent sculptors to do the work, which he did immediately. One of three artists recommended by Saint-Gaudens, James Earle Fraser, was chosen to do the Roosevelt bust. The formal commission was given to Fraser on January 23, 1906, by Elliott Woods, Superintendent of the U.S. Capitol Building.

James Fraser came to Washington with great anticipation. He met with the President in the White House. He was greatly impressed by President Roosevelt, whom he said was powerfully built. President Roosevelt later told the artist that he frequently boxed with Mike Donovan, former middle-weight champion. Subsequently, Fraser began his work in the spacious and well-lighted East Room of the White House, where President Roosevelt would pose when he could spare time from his duties. One time President Roosevelt brought his Cabinet into the East Room, and Fraser worked as the Cabinet met. Fraser remarked in his reminiscences that having the President's Cabinet behind him made him just a bit uneasy. As Fraser worked during the posings, the President conducted business and met innumerable callers. Fraser recalled that during one conversation with an interviewer, the President was asked what his business was. With great emphasis and strength, the President said, "Young man, my business is politics."

Fraser spent considerable time at the White House during 1906, so that he observed the day-to-day schedules of the President, including the needed time for outdoor recreation such as his horseback rides through the Capital and into the wooded retreats of Rock Creek Park.

Although when commissioned, Fraser was given one year for completion of the work, it was four years before the final marble likeness of Theodore Roosevelt reached the National Capitol. This was, in part, due to the meticulous craftsmanship of Fraser and because he actually completed two busts—which required the Joint Congressional Committee on the Library to make a choice. One bust represented Roosevelt in an aggressive, strenuous pose and the other presented the ex-President in repose with a serious but mild countenance. The *Washington Star* of July 5, 1909 reported that "Teddy pronounced in favor of the one favoring repose." After considerable deliberation, the Joint Committee on the Library also chose the bust preferred by the former President. On March 10, 1910, the *Washington Star* noted that "A marble bust of Theodore Roosevelt as Vice President has reached Washington for installation in a niche in the Senate Chamber."

James Earle Fraser, designer of the famed buffalo nickel, and, late in his career, the fire-gilded horses at the Rock Creek Parkway Entrance to the Lincoln Memorial Circle, always considered the Roosevelt bust to be one of his most important works.

Fraser's work in the White House was flooded with memories of being near the effervescent and dynamic Theodore Roosevelt—and many one-of-a-kind memories of the events, which occurred in the White House, were etched in his mind.

There are numerous physical memorials to Theodore Roosevelt—such as his birthplace in New York City, and Roosevelt Island across from the Lincoln Memorial, where also stands the Theodore Roosevelt Memorial in a setting reminiscent of Roosevelt's love of the outdoors and his monumental contributions to the protection of the Nation's natural resources. Many conservation-minded citizens recall Roosevelt's own sense of awe as he looked upon the chasm of the Grand Canyon, saying "leave it alone, man cannot improve upon it." But of all the memorials to Theodore Roosevelt, few are seen by more people than the Fraser Bust of Roosevelt in the main corridor of the Senate wing in the Capitol. Four million visitors move through the Capitol each year, and many of those pass Roosevelt's bust. Many of them reflect upon a strong man remembered for many courageous characteristics—for his leadership in foreign affairs, in conservation of natural resources, and in broad domestic reform, emphasizing the regulation of trusts and the protection of the rights of consumers and labor. When special tours are conducted by the U.S. Capitol Historical Society, efforts are always made to bring alive some of the human characteristics and achievements of those Vice Presidents, whose chiseled busts stand watch in the Senate corridors. ★

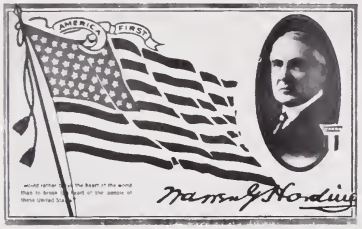


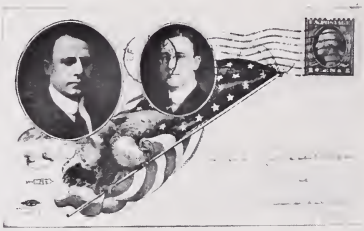
Charles R. Geer, courtesy Republican Conference of the U.S. Senate

James Earle Fraser's Senate bust of T.R., with young admirers at the Capitol

APIC Postcard Project:

THE AGE OF NORMALCY







America First

Election Tuesday November 2, 1920

Here is the Candidate FOR GOVERNOR. WHY NOT YOURS?



WARREN G. HARDING
OF MARION.
Clean, Able, Courageous.
A Statesman Republican.
Get in Line.



WARREN G. HARDING
FOR
PRESIDENT



CALVIN COOLIDGE
FOR
VICE-PRESIDENT





Warren, Ohio, Sept 29, 1920.

The Jefferson Club requests your presence to its Second Banquet to be held in the parlors of the First M. E. Church, Warren, on Friday Eve. Oct. 1, 1930. Miss Phebe Sutliff, Warren.
Hon Edmund H Moore, Youngstown.
Hon. Vic Donahey, Columbus.
are to be the guests of honor and speakers.

You will be seated to a four course dinner promptly at 7 o'clock. The expense is one dollar per plate and you must make your reservations at once to insure a space for you. Send remittance at once for number of plates you desire.

Both men and women will crowd the banquet tabls. Will have one big Democratic time.

Yours truly,
LYNN B. GRIFFITH



JOHN W. DAVIS
HELP MAKE A GREAT
WEST VIRGINIAN
PRESIDENT





You Have Not Voted !

Election of COOLIDGE and DAWES and the whole Republican ticket means CONTENTMENT AND PROSPERITY

It means
LESS TAXES
LARGER SERVICE
BALANCED BUSINESS

Vote Today
November 4, 1924

Polls close at 7 P. M.



Members of Ward Executive Committee

Locals Report

Odd Man Out
Wayne Morse of Oregon

By Preston Malcom

"Fighting Bob" LaFollette would have been proud of his former debating student. Wayne Morse raged against his own political party and four successive presidents and successfully switched parties without surrendering his seat in the U.S. Senate. A lifetime political maverick, Morse will probably be remembered best for his early and unrelenting opposition to American involvement in the war in Southeast Asia. His vote (along with that of Alaska's Ernest Gruening) against the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, giving Lyndon Johnson a blank check to wage war, is one of the most famous dissenting votes in Senate history.

Morse, a descendant of telegraph inventor Samuel F.B. Morse, was born in Verona, Wisconsin, in 1900. His parents were political progressives and ardent supporters of Robert M. LaFollette. This progressive influence was enhanced further while Morse was a student at the University of Wisconsin. He was often





3½"

in personal contact with LaFollette researching debate topics. Morse often stated that LaFollette was the greatest factor in shaping his political beliefs. After graduation he taught briefly at the University of Minnesota, took a law degree at Columbia, and moved to Oregon to teach law at the University of Oregon. In 1939 he left teaching for a position in the Department of Labor arbitrating disputes on the West Coast. Two years later Franklin Roosevelt appointed him chairman of the National Railroad Emergency Board and then, in 1942, to a seat on the National War Labor Board. A dispute with Interior Secretary Harold Ickes probably cost Morse an appointment to the federal judiciary.

In 1944 Morse resigned from the War Labor Board and returned home to Oregon, where both Democrats and Republicans urged him to seek the Senate seat being vacated by the arch-conservative Rufus Holman. Since Morse considered himself a liberal Republican in a state where the GOP was quite strong, his choice was not difficult. He was easily elected over Democrat Wiley Smith (who ironically later switched to the Republican party), carrying more counties than any previous Senate candidate in Oregon's history.

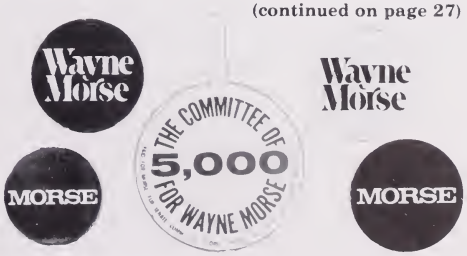
No member of the Republican minority in the Senate had a poorer record of party loyalty, a



tendency which continued to be a Morse characteristic throughout his Senate career, first as a Republican and then as a Democrat. Quite typically, his maverick politics weakened his influence enormously in the Senate but played very well with the voters back home. He was re-elected easily in 1950 over Democrat Howard Latourette. In 1952 Morse was the first Republican senator to formally endorse Dwight Eisenhower's presidential candidacy, but within months several of his Senate colleagues were demanding his censure for Morse's vitriolic criticism of Eisenhower. Bitterly disappointed over Ike's choice of Richard Nixon as his running mate and by the very conservative 1952 party platform, Morse became convinced that the GOP had sold out to Robert Taft's right wing. He was soon labeling the Eisenhower administration "the most politically immoral administration in our history" and claiming that compared to Ike, "Harding was a hero and Grant was a statesman." His comparison of Eisenhower to Teamster president Dave Beck ("two of the same kind of immoralists") brought demands for censure and led to his departure from the Republican party altogether. Morse did vote with the Republican majority in organizing the Senate for the 1953-1954 sessions, arguing that the popular vote in 1952 entitled the Republicans to Senate control, but he then moved steadily toward an alliance with the Senate's Democratic minority.

In 1956 Morse sought a third term as a Democrat against the popular Douglas McKay, former governor, Secretary of the Interior, and Eisenhower

(continued on page 27)



All Items 60% of Size Except as Noted

APIC Project 1980

by Joe Wasserman

NOTE: Traditionally, most inaugural buttons and ribbons are vendor items, made for public sale through newstands, hotels and street display. In recent years, less than half of the official delegations have had their own items made up. These are usually made in smaller quantities and are more difficult to obtain as many wearers want to retain them as a memento.

DESCRIPTIONS

80/297 and 80/298. These 3½" multicolor celluloids were made by Creative Photocrafts of Sylvania, Ohio, a small independent dealer who also sold these vendor items on the streets of Washington. They are both among the most attractive items produced for the Inauguration.

80/299-80/302. These N. G. Slater multicolored vendor buttons were sold in novelty shops, newstands and on the streets of Washington, D.C. during the inaugural week celebration. 80/299 and 80/300 are 3½"; 80/301 and 80/302 are 6". More than 20 different buttons ranging in size from 1¾" to 6" were manufactured by N. G. Slater and were unquestionably the easiest inaugural items to find.

80/303-80/306. Manufactured by Frank Enten's PC button Co. 80/303 is 6" red, white and blue; 80/304 is 4" red, white, blue and black; 80/305 and 80/306 are 3" red, white, blue and black. These vendor items were sold in novelty shops, hotel lobbies, newstands and on the streets of Washington, D.C. during inaugural week.

80/307. 2¼" red, white and blue celluloid. This is an example of a button worn as ID for inaugural participants who purchased transportation, hotel and sightseeing packages to Washington, DC from a travel agency. Working closely with local Republican organizations throughout the country and its territories, the agency sold 17 different inaugural plans. Buttons and ribbons were also made for 4 other plans that were not sold and a few sets of state buttons with ribbons were made as samples.

80/308. One thousand of this 2¼" red, white, blue and black celluloid with red, white, blue and gold ribbon "PIERRE SALUTES OUR 40th PRESIDENT & VICE PRES." were ordered by the Pierre, S.D. Chamber of Commerce and sold in that town to celebrate the Reagan inauguration. A few South Dakotans sold them in Washington, D.C. and they were also available on the streets of D.C. without the ribbon and with other varieties of ribbons. Designed by Millenium Group.

80/309. Ordered by U.S. Senator Strom Thurmond's office for the South Carolina inaugural festivities in Washington, D.C., this 1 3/4" blue, black and white



80/297



80/298

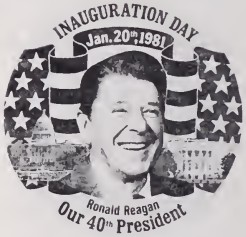

80/299



80/300



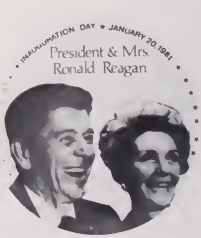
80/301



80/302 (6")



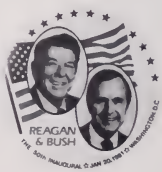
80/303 (6")



80/304



80/305



80/306



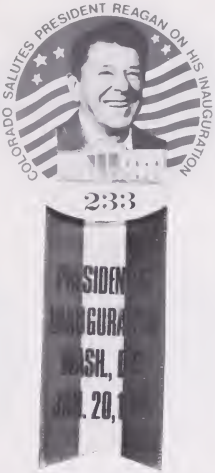
80/307



80/308

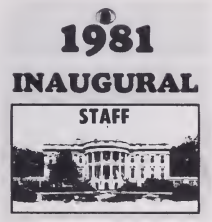


80/309





80/311



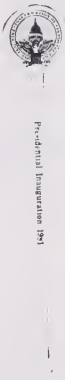
000216

JAN 17 OPENING CEREMONY

Name

Affiliation

80/315



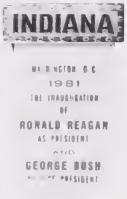
80/316



80/312



80/313





80/314



80/317



80/318



80/319



80/320

celluloid as pictured is on a blue rosette and red, white and blue ribbon. Designed by the Millenium Group, this celluloid was also available in novelty shops with a plain inaugural ribbon.

80/310. This 3½" red, white, blue and black celluloid with red, white, blue and gold ribbon sold for $10.00 at official Colorado state functions in Washington, D.C. Serially numbered, #1 through #99 were distributed to President Reagan and top Reagan officials, Reagan supporters from Colorado and Colorado Congressional workers. The other few hundred produced, also serially numbered, were randomly sold in Washington, DC and Colorado.

80/311. 250 of this 3½" red, white, blue, black and gold celluloid, with "KENTUCKY SALUTES OUR 40th PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRES." ribbon was made for Kentucky inaugural participants. The button was also available as a vendor item both with and without a common inaugural ribbon.

80/312 and 80/313. This pair of 2¼" blue on white celluloids were given out by The American Cafe, a Washington, D.C. restaurant, from their booth at the Gourmet Food Festival. The event was held in Union Station in Washington, D.C. during the inaugural festivities. Manufactured by Ralco Products of Baltimore, Maryland.

80/314. This 2¼" blue on white window button was used as an ID tag by inaugural passengers aboard an Amtrak train from Atlanta to Washington, D.C. on January 17th. Mack Mattingly is the freshman U.S. Senator from Georgia.

80/315. This cardboard ID badge was one of at least 25 made in various colors which served as entry passes for inaugural staff, employees and media to functions during inaugural week festivities. All should be easily available for $1.00 or less.

80/316. This plastic swizzle stick was produced in great quantities for Inaugural Committee functions, balls,



80/321



80/322



80/323



80/324



80/325



80/326



80/327



80/328



80/329



80/330



80/331



80/332



80/333 (6")



80/334



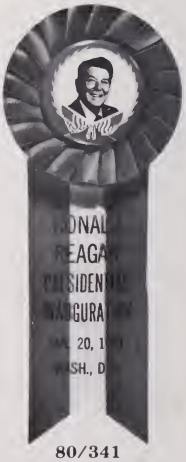
80/335



80/336



80/337



80/341


80/338


80/339



80/340 (6")



80/342



80/343



80/344



80/345



80/346



80/347



80/348



80/349



80/350



80/351



80/352



80/353



80/354



80/355



80/356

parties, The Gourmet Food Festival and private gatherings during inaugural week.

80/317 and 80/318. Inaugural Press credentials used by ABC News: 80/317 is a 3¼" x 4½" full color laminated press badge; 80/318 is a full color 2¼" celluloid. Also available (unpictured) is a 9/16" x 7/8" enamel lapel pin.

80/319. This is the "official" Indiana Republican State badge worn by participants at inaugural celebrations. It is a blue on white ribbon with goldtone metal bar and hanger; made by Bastian Bros.

80/320. This 3" red, white and blue celluloid was made by an Indiana APIC member and ardent Reagan supporter. It was worn by Indiana participants during the inauguration and later was sold in the *Political Collector* for a reasonable $2.00 postpaid. The slogan refers to the fact that Indiana was the first state to be declared to Reagan on election night.

80/321-80/333. Made by former APIC member and Senator Bob Dole staffer Morgan Williams, who operates as JED Enterprises and MH Co., these buttons were sold in novelty shops, souvenir trucks, newstands, hotel lobbies and to a much lesser extent, on the streets of Washington. Williams is also responsible for the large number of tacky 3" Kassenbaum and Dole US Senate items. 80/321-80/324 are 3" red, white and blue; 80/325 is 3" gold, white, black and blue; 80/326 is a 3" black, white and blue button on mirror; 80/327 is 3" red, white, blue and black; 80/328 is 3" yellow, white and black; 80/329 and 80/330 are 3" red, white, blue and black; 80/331 is 4" red, white, blue and black; 80/332 is 3½" red, white, blue and black; and 80/333 is 6" blue and white.

80/334. This 3" red, white, blue, black and gold item was jobbed through Millenium Group for an independent dealer who sold the button to novelty shops, etc. and on the streets of Washington, D.C.

80/335-80/337. These items were made by APIC member Ethan Assal and were sold on the streets of Washington, DC on Inauguration Day. 80/335 comes in 2¼" and 4" multicolor; 80/336 is 4" multicolor; and 80/337 comes in 4" (shown) and 6" multicolor.

80/338-80/341. These vendor items were designed by the Millenium Group and sold throughout Washington, D.C. and were available at several "official" state functions. 80/338 is 3½" red, white, blue and black; 80/339 comes in 1 3/4" and 3" and is red, white, blue, black and gold. Note; As is true with many inaugural buttons the above two items were sold with several different ribbons attached, depending upon the seller. 80/340 is 6" red, white, blue and black; 80/341 comes in 1 3/4" and 3" red, white, blue and black celluloids rosettes with ribbons.

80/342-80/345. These vendor items were manufactured by Brown Button Co., Iowa and were available in limited quantity in Washington, D.C. (They, along with other Brown Co. items, were also available in the Midwest). 80/342 is 3" black, white and purple; 80/343 is 2¼" multicolor; 80/344 is 2¼" purple, white, green and black; 80/345 is 3" red, white, blue and black.

80/346. This 3" red, white, blue, black and gold celluloid was made by N.Y. Badge a few weeks before the election, and was later used as an inaugural item with and without inaugural ribbons.

(continued on page 26)

NEWS AND THE APIC NEWSLETTER

1981: 3

NEWS OF THE AMERICAN POLITICAL ITEMS COLLECTORS

NOTE: Since there are no meetings immediately before or after a National Convention, the APIC Newsletter is being combined with the *Keynoter* for this issue only.

APIC CALENDAR

August

5 thru 8 APIC National Convention, Carlisle, PA, Quality Inn

8 Auction of Warner Collection, Part 2, Quality Inn, 1 p.m., Carlisle, PA

September

4 Gateway to the West, Farm & Home Savings & Loan Bldg., 7801 Forsythe, Clayton, Missouri, 8:15 p.m. Contact Cecilia Harris: (314) 352-8623

13 Northern California Chapter, University of California Extension, 55 Laguna Street, San Francisco, 10:30-2:30. Contact Bob Bowen: (415) 664-9117 or (415) 931-5509

13 George R. Lunn Chapter, Son's Tavern, 1186 Western Avenue, Albany, NY, 7 p.m., Contact John Portelli: (914) 465-2322 or (914) 896-8541

19 Mid-Atlantic Chapter, Bordentown Holiday Inn, 9:30 - 3:30. Contact Lynn Christy: (215) 584-1121 or 886-9400

20 Lewis and Clark Chapter. Contact David Wilson (503) 666-7318 or (503) 248-7462 for details

25 thru 26 Michigan Regional Meeting, Kalamazoo, Michigan Sheraton Inn on I-95. Contact Ken Hosner for details (616) 345-5983

26 Northern New England Chapter; Public Service of New Hampshire Auditorium, 1000 Elm Street, Hampshire Plaza Bldg., Lower Level, Manchester, New Hampshire 9:30 a.m. -1:30 p.m. Contact Bob McCarthy (603) 623-8833 days or (617) 346-8150 evenings

October

3 Northwest Political Collectors, for time and place call Don Bryce (206) 627-1808 or Cal Anderson (206) 323-2626

11 George R. Lunn Chapter, same info as Sept 13

17 Dixie Chapter APIC Fall meeting 9 to 5 at the Ramada Inn, West Knoxville, Tn 37919 INFO Area Code 615-693-4000 Andy Simon

24 J. Doyle DeWitt Connecticut Chapter, Southington, CT. Howard Johnson's Motor Inn, Exit 32 I-84 9:30 a.m. to 3 p.m. Contact Ken Florey (203) 248-1233

30 thru 31 Ohio Buckeye Chapter, Holiday Inn East, Columbus, Ohio, 1 mile west of I-270 on Rt. 16 (Broad Street) Friday evening - social, Sat bourse 9 a.m. -

December

4 Gateway to the West, details to follow

13 George R. Lunn Chapter, same info as Sept 13

4 p.m. Auction 3 p.m., Contact Fred Shafer (614) 235-4736

November

6 thru 7 Mid-Atlantic & Big Apple Combined Regional, Central New Jersey, details to follow

13 thru 14 Mid-Atlantic & Big Apple Combined Regional; Central New Jersey; details to follow

8 George R. Lunn Chapter, same info as Sept 13

APIC/LMS REPORT: SITES DISPLAY OBTAINED

Through the strenuous efforts of Elmer Koppelman, Chairman of APIC's Library and Museum Service, APIC has obtained a permanent copy of "Five Critical Election." This display is a multipiece free-standing structural exhibit created by the Smithsonian Institution's Travelling Exhibition Service in 1976. Several copies of the exhibit have been used by banks, savings institutions, museums and historical societies around the country. In a number of instances, APIC members placed parts of their own collections on display in conjunction with the F.C.E. exhibit.

APIC will make the 500 lb. exhibit available to any appropriate commercial or public institution at no charge except for freight fees from and back to Washington, D.C. A brochure on the exhibit will be sent to all members this year, and members are encouraged to find locations where the exhibit can be displayed. Contact Elmer for details.

ALPIC PUBLISHES PROJECT 1980

Barry Nelson, President of ALPIC, announced that the 1980 US Senate - Governor Project of the locals chapter is now available. The project pictures over 350 items from the 38 states holding governorship/senatorial elections in 1980. According to Dave Quintin, project coordinator, this represents probably 95% or more of all items issued for these elections. Presidential coattails collectors will find a number of interesting and scarce items pictured in the project.

If your collecting interests even remotely touch upon gubernatorial or senate races, this is a "must" publication for your library. Copies are available for $2.00 from:

David Quintin
P.O. Box 10522
Dallas, Texas 75207

Publishing Dates:

Fall 1981 Keynoter

SEPT. 11

APIC Newsletter 1981:4

AUG. 21

Project 1980 (continued)

80/347-80/353. This group of celluloids was available to collectors many weeks before the inauguration. They were brought to D.C. by John Hay, a California APIC member, and were traded and sold during Inauguration week. Several APIC street vendors obtained them from the California collector and sold them on the streets. The seven buttons carry the following disclaimer on the curl: Paid for by the CC Delegation." This author, using press credentials, was unable to find anyone from California to verify these as "official" California delegation items and therefore, they should be considered vendor items only. 80/347 is 3½" red, white, blue, black and silver; 80/348 is 2 3/4" x 1 11/16" red, white, blue, black and silver; 80/349 is 2

Q&A

by David J. Frent



Q. When were the Presidential Baseball Club cards with Cleveland and Harrison made?

A. The sepiatone 2" x 4" cards referred to were made during the 1888 campaign for distribution with packages of HONEST LONG CUT CHEWING AND SMOKING TOBACCO. There are 15 different cards known, which are also collected by baseball hobbyists.

Heads of Cleveland, Harrison, Thurman, and Morton are superimposed on actual player action poses. One card pictures Cleveland attempting to tag out a sliding Harrison, a forerunner of the famous "Willkie tagging FDR out at 3rd" buttons of 1940.

The interaction of baseball and Grover Cleveland started during his 1st term when he invited Cap Anson's champion Chicago White Stockings to the White House, the first time any baseball team was invited. Legend has it that Cleveland's daughter, Baby Ruth, was responsible for George Herman Ruth's nickname, "Babe." In 1887, one of baseball's greatest pitchers was born. Named after the sitting President, Grover Cleveland Alexanders' life story was made into a 1952 movie "The Winning Team" starring Ronald Reagan and Doris Day.

It was William H. Taft in 1909 who started the Presidential tradition of throwing out the first ball. To commemorate that event, a ceramic Taft shaped like a baseball was sold commercially. ★

Morse of Oregon (continued)

loyalist. Despite the party switch, the Eisenhower landslide, a formidible opponent, and a strenuous Republican attempt to exact revenge for his apostasy, Morse won re-election with 54% of the vote. In 1962 he again won re-election with 54% of the vote, but ran 50,000 votes behind his 1956 total against Republican Sig Unander, a much weaker opponent than McKay had been. By 1968 Morse's age, arrogance, and outspoken opposition to the Vietnam war finally caught up with him. He barely defeated hawkish Congressman Robert Duncan in a bitterly divisive primary and then lost the general election to liberal Republican Robert Packwood by a razor-thin margin (50.1%-49.9%). In a sense, Packwood represented in 1968 what Morse had been in 1944, a young progressive Republican without a reputation for maverick arrogance.

In 1972 Morse was nominated to run against old friend and fellow dove Mark Hatfield and was defeated in a contest characterized more by similarities than differences on the major issues. Morse won the Democratic nomination to oppose Packwood in 1974, but died during the campaign. A cantankerous man inclined toward turning ideological differences into personal feuds, a trait which cost him much potential influence in the Senate and eventually his Senate seat, Morse died with the satisfaction of being able to say, "I tried to warn you," about America's nightmare in Vietnam.

His seven Senate campaigns produced nearly two dozen known campaign buttons, many very scarce. Perhaps the most difficult of all to acquire is the "A GREAT SENATOR" picture button, the only known Morse picture pin. Among the other very scarce Morse items are the "COMMITTEE OF 5,000" tab and the numbered "VOLUNTEER SOLICITOR/ Bucks for MORSE" buttons. Collectors who desire just one or two Morse buttons can acquire some lithographs from the later campaigns easily and inexpensively. ★

3/4" x 1 3/4" red, white, blue, black and silver; 80/350 is 2¼" red, white, blue, black and silver; 80/351 is 3½" red, white, blue and black; 80/352 is 3" red, white, and blue; 80/353 is 3½" red, white, blue, black and silver.

80/354. This 2¼" black/white item is one of the most unusual buttons ever produced for an inauguration. It was given away selectively during the inaugural parade by the Robert Byther Memorial Brigade. This small group of young adults was distributing reprints of an article about Robert Byther that appeared in the San Francisco Examiner Dec. 3, 1980. If after reading the article you asked for a button, it would be given to you - without charge. As far as I can determine, the piece was never sold. Robert Byther, according to the article, was a 26 year old active Coast Guardsman, with previous suicidal tendencies, from Virginia. He told his friends after the 1980 election that he would never serve under President Reagan. It is presumed, from his belongings found at the scene, that he jumped from the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge on Dec. 1, 1980 and perished.

80/355 and 80/356. Made by Steve Elkin's Iowa Buttons and Badges, these buttons were sold on the streets of Washington, D.C. during inauguration week. 80/355 is 3" red, white, blue and black; 80/356 is 3½" red, white, blue, black and gold. ★

FOR PRESIDENT



ALTON B. PARKER